

## The Record Of Inflation

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# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 46

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1957

PRICE 10c

## U.S. Supreme Court Refuses to Review Sobell's Conviction

By Myra Tanner Weiss

NOV. 13 — The United States Supreme Court yesterday dealt a tragic blow to justice in this country. Once again the highest court of the land refused to consider

its callous and brutal indifference to justice and to the life of Morton Sobell — and it didn't. But it is not difficult to understand why the Justices turned their backs. While the Sobell appeal was in the hands of the Supreme Court the FBI and the Justice Department issued a special "study" of the case and released it to a national magazine. This was a shocking move that could only serve as pressure on the high court to deny the appeal of prisoner Sobell.

### POPULAR DOUBT

The special Justice Department "study" was explained as necessary because of widespread doubt about the guilt of the Rosenbergs and Sobell. This admission of public concern should have moved the Court to re-open the case. But it didn't. Was the Court afraid to look into this case? Did it fear that the FBI and the Justice Department, not Sobell, would be convicted of a monstrous crime — that government perjury and frame-up would be exposed?

### REPUTATION DAMAGED

The recently won reputation of the Supreme Court for "fairness" doesn't look so good when the high court lacks the courage even to put that new evidence of Sobell's innocence to a judicial test.

The Supreme Court doesn't need to give any explanation for

# GOP, Democrats Beat Drums For Arms Race, "Sacrifices"

## What the Elections Show

### Economic Fears Reflected in Turn To the Democrats

By C. R. Hubbard

NOV. 13 — The reasons for the Democratic victories in the Nov. 5 election are not hard to discover. The beginning of economic downturn, which has cut average weekly pay and increased layoffs, reduced capital investment and shaken the stock market, has caused deep and widespread concern in the working class over problems of economic security. Shifts in the economy, even slight, are now reflected by even larger shifts in voting.

This does not mean that the workers have strong illusions that the Democrats will solve their economic problems. But without another choice, the record of the Republicans drives the labor vote into the Democratic column.

### A TREND

The vote last week in New York and New Jersey continued the trend of Proxmire's victory in the Wisconsin senatorial race last August. Involved in that campaign was also the issue of the witch hunt, for the vacant seat was the late Senator McCarthy's. However, even then the economic picture was gloomy. Inflation had reached its highest point, cutting deep into living standards that had already fallen for the second quarter of 1957. Proxmire went directly to the factories to appeal for support. He also reaped the harvest of increased dissatisfaction of the long-suffering farmers.

Last week's most significant contest was for the New Jersey governorship. Democrat Robert B. Meyner won by a plurality of 203,613 votes with a total of over a million, the largest vote ever won by a Democrat in that state. The Democrats also captured control of the State Assembly for the first time in 20 years.

Republicans made the N. J. election a test campaign. For Gov. Meyner had won with only a small margin in 1953. Eisenhower swept the state by 750,000 votes in 1956. The chances, therefore, of a Republican victory seemed good. The Republicans moved into the campaign with all their national political weight. Both Eisenhower and Nixon gave strong support to the Republican contender, State Senator Malcolm S. Forbes.

### BIGGER PROMISES

To meet the challenge Meyner engaged in more than usual demagoguery in his appeal for labor support. Accompanied by union officials he went into the factories to speak directly to the workers about unemployment and medical compensation, equal job opportunities, etc. He even went so far as to say he would favor "relaxation" of state laws barring unemployment compensation for strikers — "after a reasonable waiting period."

Evidently counting on the Administration's help and the effect of Senate hearings on corruption in the labor movement, Forbes attacked Meyner as a "tool" of the CIO. "The people are tired of watching labor officials of the Congress of Industrial Organizations dominate the State House," said Forbes. "We don't want to see Walter Reuther run business out of New Jersey as he has in Michigan." Then Forbes promised, "I will never stop my fight to end the domination of our state government by this handful of power-hungry men."

Mayor Wagner of New York also benefited from the workers' economic sensitivity. He polled the largest plurality in city history.

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### Socialist Banner-Bearers



The Socialist Workers candidates in the New York election. Morris Zuckoff (left) ran for Comptroller; Joyce Cowley (seated), for Mayor; Lillian Kiezel and Alvin Berman for President of the City Council and Brooklyn Borough President.

## SWP Municipal Tickets Win Encouraging Votes

The vote registered by the Socialist Workers tickets in New York and San Francisco represents a small but significant gain for the principle of independent working class political action. In New York, Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor, was credited with 13,915 votes in unofficial returns. Morris Zuckoff, candidate for Comptroller, received 14,042 votes and Lillian Kiezel, candidate for President of the City Council, 12,634 votes. None of the write-in votes for Alvin Berman, candidate for Brooklyn Borough President, were reported.

In San Francisco, running for the nine-man Board of Supervisors, SWP nominee Frank Bar-

baria polled 17,082 votes. His running mate, Joan Jordan, in her first bid for office, received 15,636 votes. Registering 8% of the total vote cast, they placed 12th and 13th in a field of 15.

The SWP vote in New York came in an election marked by deep apathy and a correspondingly small turnout at the polls — a factor that always favors the entrenched machine. Also, the entire labor officialdom campaigned for Tammany's candidate, Mayor Wagner, who also had the support of the various social-democratic groupings in the city as well as that of the leaders of the Communist Party.

Yet, with the support extended by the National Guardian and such independent radicals as

Vincent Hallinan, Muriel McAvoy, Tim Wohlforth and others, the SWP ticket registered a significant increase over the 1953 mayoralty election when it polled under 4,000 votes.

Eric Haas, the Socialist Labor Party candidate for Mayor, received under 5,000 votes. In the 24th Councilmanic district, Communist Party leader Elizabeth Gurley Flynn polled 696 votes according to unofficial Board of Election figures. Joyce Cowley was credited with 692 votes in the same district.

### ENDORSEMENTS

The vote for the socialist candidates in San Francisco was equally gratifying, even though the fact that the voters had nine choices must be considered in weighing the not substantial percentage of the vote polled. Here too, public apathy was reflected in an unusually small turnout at the polls. But with significant independent support, Barbaria and Jordan were able to make a genuine dent in the campaign. Endorsement of their candidacies came from such figures as Vincent Hallinan, Warren K. Billings, George Hitchcock and George Olshausen.

The impact of the Barbaria-Jordan campaign was particularly evident in radical circles. This was reflected in the coverage given their campaign by the Peoples World which reflects the views of the Communist Party. In addition to news reports, a pro-and-con discussion of the SWP campaign ran in the paper's letters column for four weeks.

### In this Issue:

Why Zhukov Was  
Purged

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## Eisenhower's Speeches Stress War Spending; Less for Working People

By Fred Halstead

The issues of "sputnik" and growing unemployment are being used by the government and corporations to launch a drive to cut the standard of living of American

workers. In his "Science and Security" speeches, President Eisenhower has proposed "a very considerable" increase in spending for war preparations. At the same time he proposed in his Nov. 13 speech "the cutting out" of "entire categories" of non-military federal expenditures.

The country must prepare itself for a shift to "less butter and more guns," said Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks at a Washington speech Nov. 13. A week previously Eisenhower said that the increased spending for the guided missiles race would be met only if "we set our priorities and stick to them and if each of us is ready to carry his own burden willingly and without complaint."

More on the same theme came from Bernard Baruch, Wall Street financier and "elder statesman" of Washington politics, when he recently urged the intensified arms race and added: "If America ever crashes, it will be in a two-tone convertible. . . There are worse burdens than taxes. . . Sputnik represents the test. . ."

### "FAT AND LAZY"

Showing that the drive for sacrifice of living standards to war preparations is a bi-partisan policy, former President Truman urged increased armaments in a Nov. 11 speech and said that what's wrong with the U.S. is "that we are fat and lazy and want too many cars and gadgets."

The theme is repeated in the capitalist press. For example, the Nov. 11 New York World-Telegram attributes the U.S. missile-satellite lag to the fact that after World War II "the American people were too interested in the resumption of production of consumer goods and to anxious to turn away from weapons."

As the politicians run interference with their appeals to "sacrifice" and their "guns not butter" statements, the corporations are already taking advantage of increased unemployment to cut wages, increase speed-up, and get rid of "marginal workers." (See story on page three.) They are also preparing to resist attempts by organized workers to hold on to their standard of living in the face of rising prices.

"A top official of a Midwest automotive parts concern, for example," says the Nov. 12 Wall

### Just How Wide Is that Margin?

At a conference of the National Defense Executive Reserve, Nov. 13, Sec. of State Dulles announced that Americans might have to "give up small marginal freedoms" to meet the urgency of the cold war. "The essential thing," said Dulles, "is whether we can retain the great bulk of our freedoms." While Dulles puts a question mark over American liberty — the fruit of decades and centuries of struggle — Sec. of Commerce Weeks forecast the loss of our living standards. Weeks asked for support to a program of "less butter and more guns."

Street Journal, "bristles" when he is asked about possible pay demands in the auto industry next spring; he would prefer a stiff management stand — even if it leads to a walkout."

In spite of the inflationary effects of the war budget, the economy continues to dip. An expected "year-end pick up in steel orders" says the Nov. 10 N. Y. Times, failed to materialize. In addition, a McGraw-Hill survey in 1958 found that the figure of anticipated capital spending would drop 7% below this year's outlay which would bring it below the 1956 total. This means, according to the Nov. 9 Business Week, that "one of the biggest, costliest cushions beneath the U.S. economy is losing a significant part of its stuffing." Officials of the Commerce Department last week released the first government estimate of unemployment for next year — "an assumption based on the best guess now available" that it would increase by one million. This is below estimates made by private business.

### TURNABOUT

Prof. Otto Hahn, German Nobel prize winner, who has urged an international gathering of scientists to discuss ways of preventing war, recites the following verse:

To smash the simple atom  
All mankind was intent.  
Now any day  
The atom may  
Return the compliment.

### S.F. Campaigners



Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan ran an effective socialist campaign in the San Francisco election for Board of Supervisors. They found increased interest in their plank for independent labor politics at the union meetings they addressed as well as in organizations of the Negro people.

## Rep. Walter Smears Civil Liberties Group

Chairman Francis E. Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee has uncovered a "plot" to destroy his witch-hunting apparatus. The "plot" is the public campaign of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a body devoted exclusively to defense of the Bill of Rights, to end the extra-judicial persecution of Americans by "subversive" hunters like Walter. "Operation Abolition," charged Walter's Committee, has "attained almost country-wide proportions." Harvey O'Connor, ECLC Chairman, pointed out that Walter's attack only emphasizes the need to abolish his witch-hunting group.

## Helen Sobell's Plea for Justice

(The following is the full text of the statement issued by Helen Sobell and Rose Sobell, wife and mother of Morton Sobell. — Ed.)

For more than eight years we have lived from day to day in the hope that the injustice which has destroyed the life of our family would be reviewed by the courts of our country so that an innocent man could be saved from destruction. The horror of knowing that the steadfastness of a father, a son, and a husband, of a man who is a brilliant scientist has been rewarded only by continuing torment is a difficult thing to bear for Morton's mother and for myself. We can never stop our efforts to make known all of the immorality, lying and conniving that went on in this trial. Life has no meaning to us if it must be lived together with such monstrous injustice. We know Morton's goodness, his kindness, his honesty and his innocence of crime. All that has gone before will be but a beginning to the cries which must awaken everyone and show them that Morton must be treated as a human being, not as a pawn in a struggle for power over man's mind.

It is an unworthy thing which our great Supreme Court has done in not even taking this matter in its jurisdiction. What can it fear when all that we seek to establish is the truth itself? We turn now to the most



HELEN SOBELL

powerful court, the court of the people. We know that those who have read the trial record, who have studied the facts in this case will continue their efforts on Morton's behalf. All those great and eminent scientists and thinkers of our country who have expressed their support before have received no answer but an added question when our country refuses to hear one of its own. History will award a verdict of innocent to Morton, but we must find that verdict now.



# Political Revolution In the Soviet Union

By Harry Ring

In the November issue of Monthly Review, an independent socialist magazine, editors Leo Huberman and Sweezy devote themselves to the problem of the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union. The problem is also discussed in an article by Joseph Clark, former foreign editor of the Daily Worker who recently resigned from the Communist Party.

Writing on the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the MR editors characterize the Khrushchev regime as "self-chosen and self-perpetuating; enjoying the good things of life, it leads an existence quite apart from the masses; it... imposes its will through its monopoly of economic and political power. In short, the Soviet Union is a dictatorship, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat." However, they note, "this does not mean the dictatorship of a 'new class': the Party is a self-renewing group which... has none of the essential hereditary characteristics of a class."

Reviewing their previous stand on this problem, Huberman and Sweezy write: "We have always tended to draw the conclusion that when the conditions which produced the dictatorship — economic backwardness and international insecurity — have been overcome, the Soviet regime would, in some unspecified manner, democratize itself."

"Our theory is being put to the crucial test of practice," they add, "And so far — let us face it frankly — there is precious little evidence to confirm it."

Probing for new answers to the problem, the MR editors dismiss as barren the contributions of both the Communist Party and the spokesmen for capitalism. "The Trotskyites have come closest to defining the problem correctly," they say. "But their solution (an anti-bureaucratic revolution of the Soviet masses) is part wishful thinking and part sheer revolutionary romanticism. . . the masses are not going to revolt against a system that works as well as the Soviet system no matter how undemocratic the government may be."

## LOOK TO SLOW PROCESS

Outlining in "tentative" form what they see as a possible development, the MR editors say: "Some or all of the competing factions in the leadership might... appeal increasingly for the support of public opinion as a means of getting the upper hand over rivals. . . Such a development might be the beginning of a slow but genuine process of democratization."

In his article, Joseph Clark, gives no specific indication as to how he thinks Stalinism will be eliminated, but he takes issue with Leon Trotsky on the problem.

He writes: "If a new exploiting class is in power in Russia, counter-revolution has triumphed. Then the Trotskyist slogan of a 'workers' revolution'... would have validity. But it hasn't. Brilliant as was Trotsky's analysis of the rise of the bureaucracy in Russia and his forecast of degeneration in the Soviet state, his slogan of 'workers' revolution' can only imitate the steady struggle to eliminate the baleful legacy of Stalinism. That slogan can become confused — and has been in actual politics — with George Kennan's old 'containment' policy and the Dulles 'liberation' crusade."

## AN INACCURACY

Clark's description of Trotsky's views on revolution in the USSR is inaccurate, and it would be helpful for further discussion of how the bureaucratic regime will be eliminated, if the question of revolution were first clearly defined.

The "slogan" advanced by Trotsky was not that of an undefined "workers' revolution," but that of a political revolution.

# Why Zhukov Was Put on Purge List

By George Lavan

In his speech at the 40th anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution, on Nov. 7, Kremlin boss Khrushchev demarcated the political area on which the bureaucracy is attempting to consolidate its rule. The real limit of political concessions to the masses is the 20th Congress, "the most important historic phase . . . in the life of the party and the Soviet people." "Such occurrences as under Stalin's personality cult," Khrushchev promised, "should never be permitted in the future."

He then marked off the forward limit of concessions by declaring Stalin a "dedicated Marxist-Leninist" whom "the party and Soviet people will give his due." He addressed a warning to those attempting to carry de-Stalinization too far, who "call leaders . . . Stalinists, giving it negative meaning. Critics of this kind are either thorough slanderers or people who have descended to the rotten positions of revisionism. . ."

Khrushchev's program has become the official program as a result of his victory, first over Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, who threatened the rear limit, and recently over Zhukov, who threatened the forward limit.

## QUICK DEMOTION

Marshal Zhukov enjoyed his position as the second most powerful figure in the Kremlin bureaucracy for only four months. Why did Khrushchev

find it imperative to strike at him so quickly?

The simple fact is that the instability of the Soviet bureaucracy and the pressure of the Soviet masses from which this instability flows is so great that further delay threatened to convert Khrushchev's savior of July into his destroyer. That Zhukov had already begun building up his own forces for the ultimate contest explains Khrushchev's urgency in striking while the challenge was potential and not yet actual.

Zhukov's preparations may be divided into three categories: 1) Consolidation of his own base in the bureaucracy — the officers' caste of the armed forces — by dislodging or neutralizing the agencies of other sections of the bureaucracy in the armed forces, primarily those of the Communist Party, and strengthening his grip on the military machine by manning all strategic posts in it with commanders of whose loyalty he was sure.

2) A campaign to capitalize upon his own already great popularity with the masses, as compared to that of other political figures in the USSR, and to extend it by appearing publicly as the champion of further de-Stalinization.

3) Overtures to other sections of the bureaucracy for an alliance against Khrushchev. Such approaches are necessarily secret and must be assumed.

However, on Zhukov's attempt to solidify his control of the armed forces as against party

## Birds of a Feather



KHRUSHCHEV

STALIN

influence in them and on his bid for mass popularity there is ample documentation.

Like every other section of the bureaucracy, the military greatly benefited from the downfall of the secret police. Prior to that each bureaucratic faction was checked on its own sphere. Thus the destruction of Beria and relegation of the secret police to subordinate status, not only greatly enhanced the position of the military because it overwhelmed the NKVD troops and arrested and executed Beria, not only left it the sole faction of the bureaucracy disposing of troops, tanks and guns, but put it on the

threshold of becoming master in its own house.

## CP UNITS IN THE WAY

With the secret police extinguished the only extraneous element in the Red Army and Navy was the apparatus of the Communist Party. This large and powerful apparatus, consisted of the Political Administration of the Ministry of Defense with built-in agencies staffed by full-time bureaucrats on every echelon from highest down to the regimental level. Paralleling this on all levels were political units composed of enlisted men and officers who were party members.

Since the death of Stalin there has been a steady struggle by the officers' caste against the power of the party apparatus in the armed forces. Under Zhukov this fight was brought to its greatest success. There can be no question but that he was thereby expressing the interests of the officers' caste as a whole.

Confirmation of this campaign to make the generals masters in their own house comes from the Khrushchev's press campaign against Zhukov and the official statement of the CP Central Committee purging him. The principal accusation is that Zhukov "tried to diminish the importance of political work in the army and navy," to "suppress criticism," to "distort" history by belittling "the leading and inspiring role of the Communist Party" in the victories of World War II.

## SOUGHT GREATER POPULARITY

Zhukov's bid to the Soviet masses was not for mere popularity—he already had a great deal of that—but vastly to increase it. His original popularity stemmed from his military victories which shined all the brighter because they were won despite Stalin and because they brought Zhukov persecution from Stalin. Here is the record.

The initial months of the war saw complete confusion and military disaster, because of its internal ineptness the Kremlin allowed the USSR to be taken by surprise and was completely unprepared on its western borders. The situation was infinitely worsened by the bloody actions of the NKVD, acting under Stalin's ignorant and capricious orders, and interfering with command decisions in the field and flow of military supplies. At this period Stalin tried to direct military operations, even down to tactical movements, from the Kremlin as Hitler did in the latter days of the war from Berlin. The catastrophic results practically disintegrated the Red Army forces already in battle and brought the Nazi army to the gates of Moscow and Leningrad. (An excellent portrayal of this phase of the war, as well as the panicked flight of the bureau-

cracy from Moscow, may be found in "Moscow" by Theodore Plivier the famous German Communist novelist who spent the war years in the Soviet Union.)

Only the prospect of total defeat forced Stalin to relinquish adequate command powers to his generals. Then the counter-offensives mounted at Stalingrad, Moscow, and Leningrad sent the Nazis reeling backwards. The outstanding commander throughout these battles, as well as in the invasion of Germany and capture of Berlin, was Zhukov.

After the war Stalin sent Zhukov into obscurity of minor posts out of the public eye and sent many of his friends to concentration camps. Such a reward for the services rendered the USSR could only increase Zhukov's secret popularity.

## ZHUKOV RETURNS

It is noteworthy that a few hours after their master's death, Stalin's heirs recalled Zhukov to Moscow. This was an obvious move by the new and worried regime to associate a genuinely popular figure with itself. From that point on Zhukov rose in position and power with each crisis in the Kremlin and became more and more identified with de-Stalinization.

When Beria attempted to overthrow the collective leadership—which was simply an agreement by the top leaders of the main faction of the bureaucracy to abide by their own majority vote in the presidium—the collective leadership called on Zhukov and the army to crush the dread secret police. For this immensely popular act of de-Stalinization Zhukov was elevated to Beria's vacant seat in the CP Central Committee. When at the 20th Congress Khrushchev made his famous speech exposing Stalin—a speech Zhukov is believed to have urged—the story of Stalin's military muddling, his jealousy and hatred of Zhukov comprised an important element in it. Zhukov was then made a candidate (voteless) member of the presidium.

Last June when Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich rallied a majority of the collective leadership against Khrushchev, it was Zhukov who made it possible to overrule the collective leadership by refusing to accept the presidium's decision as final. Zhukov's placing of the army behind Khrushchev allowed him to appeal the presidium's decision to the party's central committee—in which, as first party secretary, Khrushchev has his main strength. Not only was the presidium majority overruled but purged, enlarged and

## BACKS KHRUSHCHEV

When Khrushchev delivered the next day to the workers of the huge factory which bears the name "Bolshevik." Though only an embarrassed summary was printed in Pravda it is plain that Zhukov pushed the official charges of Stalinism against Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich much further than had Khrushchev and called for complete exposure of their complicity in Stalin's crimes. This was not only a call to extend de-Stalinization but an unspoken but understood threat to Khrushchev. For if Stalin's accomplices ought to be brought to trial "before the people for exceeding their powers and committing unlawful actions," then the finger of accusation points not only to Molotov and the others but also to Khrushchev, who seized the main chance to rise in the bureaucracy during the purge of the 1930's in the Ukraine.

## Sputniks May Get A Patron Saint

According to a Nov. 11 United Press dispatch from Rome "authorities of the Roman Catholic Church are informally considering selection of a patron saint for space travelers, a Vatican official said today. 'It was believed that the most likely patron would be St. Joseph of Cupertino, a seventeenth century Italian Franciscan friar. According to tradition, he floated in the air during religious ecstasies.'"

packed. Zhukov was elevated to full membership in it.

The then No. 2 power in the Kremlin lost little time in trying to throw onto the scales of the coming contest with Khrushchev the weight of his popularity with the masses. On the occasion of Red Navy Day he courted and received in Leningrad the greatest popular ovation given a Soviet political figure since before the crushing of Trotsky and the Left Opposition in 1927. Its mood was described by the Leningrad correspondent of the N.Y. Times (July 15): "The crowd waved and roared cheers . . . spontaneous and even idolatrous demonstration for him . . . The crowd went wild. Hundreds of men and women, many with children on their shoulders, pushed through the throng running and stumbling after the vessel for a second and third look at the beaming military hero." Leningrad's reception of Khrushchev two weeks earlier paled into regimented insignificance beside that.

Equally significant was the speech that Zhukov delivered the next day to the workers of the huge factory which bears the name "Bolshevik." Though only an embarrassed summary was printed in Pravda it is plain that Zhukov pushed the official charges of Stalinism against Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich much further than had Khrushchev and called for complete exposure of their complicity in Stalin's crimes. This was not only a call to extend de-Stalinization but an unspoken but understood threat to Khrushchev. For if Stalin's accomplices ought to be brought to trial "before the people for exceeding their powers and committing unlawful actions," then the finger of accusation points not only to Molotov and the others but also to Khrushchev, who seized the main chance to rise in the bureaucracy during the purge of the 1930's in the Ukraine.

(Second of a series of three.)

# The Record of Inflation

By Joseph Keller

What subject is more often on the minds of more people than any other? No — not love, not the Sputnik nor football. It's the high cost of living. Nothing worries and harasses the American people more than the continuous rise in prices of everything we need — from food, housing, clothing and medical care, to marriages and funerals.

Reliable information on trends in the cost of living is hard to dig out. Republicans and Democrats alike lie shamelessly about the pertinent facts bearing on their own contributions to inflation. Both work together to conceal the real extent of the leap in living costs over the entire period since 1939, when war preparations and war have dominated the economy most of the time.

REVISÉ PRICE INDEX  
In January 1953, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics revised its Average Consumers' Price Index. The average prices of the 1935-39 period were discontinued as the index base of 100. The 1947-49 average was substituted as the new base.

The Republicans were happy about the change because the new peak of prices under their administration would appear not so high with the new index. The Democrats were even more delighted because the new index completely buried their major contribution to high living costs before 1947.

According to the new index, the high peak in October 1957 was 121.1 compared to the 1947-49 base of 100, or a 21.1% rise. That doesn't look good, but it's a lot prettier than the real picture when we translate the new index into the old. Using the 1935-39 base of 100, we find that present average consumers prices stand at about 203.9 — that is, almost 104 per cent higher than the original base.

## THE ACTUAL RECORD

Here is the record of price inflation since 1939, based on the 1935-39 index of 100:

Year	Index Number
1939	99.4
1940	100.2
1945	128.6
1946	139.5
1947	159.6
1948	171.9
1949	170.2
1950	171.9
1951	185.6
1952	189.8
1953	191.3
1954	191.9
1957 (Oct.)	203.9

Certain facts are easily observable from this statistical table. The cost of living is now the highest it has ever been. This rise has been almost continual since 1939. It has taken its initial impulse, at each new spur, either from war spending or the ending of war-time controls during periods of war-induced scarcity. Almost 90 per cent of the total rise occurred under Democratic administrations. The inflationary process is continuing under the Republicans.

## EFFECT OF WORLD WAR

For the six-year period 1935 through 1940, the consumers' price index hovered between 98 and 101. From 1940 through 1945, during active U.S. participation in World War II, the index shot up almost 29%.

However, goods and food were scarce and a number of commodities were rationed. When the war ended, the controls, which had been partially effective, were quickly lifted by Truman. The corporations were allowed to hold up the commodity-hungry public with higher prices for scarce goods. In one year, prices rose another 11% above the index base. Within three years, 1946-48, the total rise — during peacetime — was more than 43%.

Then the market began to be cluttered. Production slowed down. Unemployment increased. Prices in 1949 began to record a decline. It didn't last long. In June 1950, Truman threw this country into the Korean "police action." Happy days were here again — for the profiteers. From 1950 through 1952, when Truman

completed his final term, almost 20 points were added to the index.

## PEACETIME WAR BUDGET

During 1953, the first year Eisenhower resided in the White House, the Korean War finally ground to a halt and an armistice was reached. Through 1954 and a brief post-war recession, the price index slowed down to a two point rise. Then came the greatest peacetime federal military budget in history, plus increased corporation investment in new automated plants and equipment to cut labor costs. Another 12 points were heaped on the index.

The Democrats are quick and eager to point out that "prices are now the highest in our history." Working people scarcely need to be told that. What the Democrats and their apologists among the union bureaucrats, liberals and Stalinists are quiet about, or only murmur sweet and low, is the record of inflation under the Democrats. They bring to mind the man who gulped down ten drinks of whiskey, rose, said, "Just one for the road," drank his eleventh and then fell flat on his face. When he finally came to, he moaned: "It was that last drink that floored me."

## WHEN WILL IT END?

When will the inflation end? It could end, according to the workings of the capitalist economy, with a depression, with mass purchasing power so reduced that accumulated unsalable goods will be thrown on the market for lower prices. But we might experience a contradictory process — slowly growing unemployment and rising prices. That could happen if arms spending were increased and the government debt lifted to still shakier heights.

In any event, as the record shows, it will make little difference which of the two capitalist parties controls the government. The wage-earners are in for it. The Big Business rulers are strictly bi-partisan when it comes to the capitalist alternatives — depression, inflation, war.

# Dictator Cancels Venezuela "Elections"

By John Thayer

On Nov. 4 the scheduled elections in Venezuela, one of U.S. imperialism's favorite members of the "free world," were abruptly canceled by the military dictatorship which has ruled there for the past ten years.

It was not that the elections could have turned military dictator Jimenez out of office. In 1952, when elections were last held, four out of every five Venezuelans voted against Jimenez. As soon as the trend of the vote became apparent in the counting, a blackout on all news going out of the country was imposed, the official count was stopped and completed by the military, who announced that Jimenez had won.

As this year's elections approached, it became clear that the U.S.-supported dictator was due for an even greater repudiation. The danger that hatred

of the regime might crystallize behind even the mild opposition candidate the regime was permitting to run and break out into revolution when he was counted out, led Jimenez to call off the elections. Instead there will be on Dec. 15 a national plebiscite. In this the voters will simply answer "yes" or "no" to the question of whether they support the Jimenez regime. The voters will not be protected by the privacy in making their ballots that goes with an election. What would happen if the count revealed a majority of "no" votes? Nobody is foolish enough to even ask that question.

Meanwhile the conservative Catholic politician, whom the regime originally intended to permit to run as the opposition candidate, and his supporters have been thrown into prison where they will meet socialists and trade-unionists who have long been imprisoned and tortured by the brutal dictatorship.

Some of the more august Big Business newspapers in the U.S., such as the N.Y. Times, are clucking their editorial tongues in disapproval of the crude actions of U.S. imperialism's most favored South American country. What they neglect to say is that the Jimenez dictatorship was installed by a coup d'etat engineered by the U.S. oil monopolies with the aid of the State Department.

In February 1948 the Democratic Action Party won over 70% of the votes in a free election. Romulo Gallegos, the new president and the congress thereupon imposed a 50% tax on the oil corporations in order to raise the impoverished country's standard of living. By November the oil companies had worked out plans with a group of Venezuelan army officers for a coup d'etat. When overthrown President Gallegos

reached exile in Cuba, he told reporters that the army revolt had been engineered by the U.S. oil companies and that the military attaché of a "large power" was at the army headquarters when the coup was staged. It was understood by all that the diplomatic formulation, "large power," referred to the U.S.

Since then Venezuela has been a police state, and its head, Col. Jimenez has been honored by Truman and decorated by Eisenhower. The U.S. oil companies have pumped out of the country billions in profits while the U.S. Steel Corp. and Bethlehem Steel take away tremendous quantities of its rich iron ore. From this the Venezuelan people, forbidden to have real trade unions, get nothing but a raging inflation. The military rulers and a small handful of reactionaries, however, are living like Indian maharajahs of old.

# The Artist's Prospects

The fate of art in the Soviet Union under Stalin's dictatorship has repelled artists from socialism. Are they correct in their judgment? What should be the attitude of a worker's state toward free expression? Read Trent Hutter's thought-provoking discussion in the fall issue of the International Socialist Review.

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International Socialist Review

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# World Events

SYRIA'S preoccupation with the possibility of imperialist-inspired attack is no fake, judging from the country's "Popular Resistance" movement. This is a very broad civilian combat organization, that almost any Syrian can and does join. It stands by the side of the regular army. The members are armed with automatic and semi-automatic weapons. They are trained, not for fighting in the field, but as a partisan force that would make occupation by a conquering army impossible. It was first organized a year ago, and is now well-nigh universal in Syria. It is well disciplined, and its morale is very high.

KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, Wall Street's stooge in the Mideast, has to be very careful when he shouts for U.S. help. The widely-read nationalist press of Egypt has been lashing him mercilessly for his subservience to imperialism. The Cairo Al-Shaab flatly states: "It was America which engineered King Hussein's April coup against the nationalist government." Al Gomhouria of the same city accuses Hussein of "seeking the protection of the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine." In Syria, thousands of Palestinian (Arab) refugees recently demonstrated with such slogans as: "Down with Hussein and his traitorous regime."

IN GERMANY, the Social Democrats have whipped back at Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party, who won the recent federal elections, with a smashing 53% of the vote in the Nov. 10 Hamburg city-state election. The leaders of the Hamburg campaign were left-wing Socialists Herbert Wehner and Prof. Carlo Schmid, who were the only Social Democrats returned to office last September by increased majorities.

This may explain the right wing's acquiescence in a more militant campaign for Hamburg. The Nov. 11 New York Times frankly states that Wehner and Schmid "are likely to take the power away from the party bureaucrats at the next election and give the party a more militant leadership."

CP OFFICIALS IN POLAND have paused a moment with their "purging" as still in the air, as they contemplate the Polish CP-sponsored youth organization, the ZMS. One year after its founding (after the October events of 1956), it has fewer than 100,000 members, whereas the preceding youth organization (with membership very often compulsory) had over a million. Of 14,000 Warsaw Polytechnic students, only ten are members of the present youth set-up. And the chapter at Warsaw University has been dissolved entirely. There is a wave of anti-political cynicism among the youth. As the Polish Minister of Education put it, however, "It is useless to demand that the youth follow mutely all the orders of their elders, and to demand that they show initiative at the same time."

## Russian Youth Awakes

(An Eyewitness Report by a British participant in the recent World Youth Festival in Moscow)

By Maurice Pelter

(A Peter Fryer Newsletter Pamphlet)

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# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People  
**THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION**  
 118 University Pl., N. Y. 5, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468  
 Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
 Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Vol. 21 — No. 46

Monday, November 18, 1957

## Aswan Dam Somersault

Nothing more graphically illustrates the defeat of imperialist policy in the Middle East than the recent visit to Cairo of Eugene Black, president of the World Bank. This U.S. imperialist-dominated institution (it is more than symbolic that its president is an American) quickly reneged on its promised loan to Egypt when Secretary of State Dulles announced U.S. cancellation of its commitments to aid Egypt in building the Aswan Dam. This action was intended to punish Egypt for its anti-colonialist, independent foreign policy and bring it to heel. Instead it precipitated the whole Mideast crisis. In retaliation Egypt struck at the imperialists by nationalizing the Suez Canal. British and French imperialism, using Israel as a stooge, undertook an invasion of Egypt which was so brazen that it threatened to ignite the whole Arab world in anti-imperialist revolts.

To prevent this, U.S. imperialism turned thumbs down on the already begun invasion of Egypt and with the Eisenhower Doctrine set itself up as imperialist overlord of the Mideast. Its attempts to force from Egypt by diplomacy and threats that which the Anglo-French invasion sought — control of the Suez Canal — failed as Cairo stood firm against "internationalization," the "canal users' plan" and an economic squeeze.

Washington's lavish bribery with money and armaments, plus the gunboat diplomacy of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, registered

but one real success in the Mideast — the overthrow of parliamentary government in Jordan and its replacement by the dictatorship of King Hussein. The attempt to repeat this performance in Syria through the agency of Turkey badly boomeranged. The threat to Syria inflamed the whole Arab world. Not only did this save political democracy in Syria, but its backlash may now bring about the downfall of King Hussein the U.S. puppet in Jordan.

Thus the circle is almost completed when World Bank president Black journeys to Cairo, to offer a loan for construction of the Aswan Dam. Of course there are some strings. Black wants a little more payoff for the stockholders of the former Suez Canal Co. At the time of nationalization, Egypt declared they would be compensated at the rate of the previous day's quotations on the Paris Bourse (stock exchange). In the hope of getting a loan for construction of the badly needed Aswan Dam, Egypt has agreed to Black's acting as negotiator with the old stockholders of the canal.

This acceptance as final by imperialism of Egypt's nationalization of the canal is a victory for the Arab revolution. But what adds a delicious bit of irony is Black's "explanation" of why the very same loan that his bank canceled a year and a half ago can be considered today. It is that Egypt now has collateral to secure the loan — an annual profit of \$100 million from canal tolls.

## The Civil Rights Commission

The six members of the Civil Rights Commission, authorized by the watered-down civil rights bill passed by Congress last August, have been named by Eisenhower. Chairman is S. F. Reed, retired Supreme Court Justice. Reed, a Kentuckian and the court's most conservative member, joined in the unanimous decision against school segregation but according to the Nov. 8 N. Y. Times, "It is widely believed in Washington that Justice Reed was the most reluctant of the nine justices."

Of the other members Robert G. Storey, Dean of Southern Methodist Law School, is a Texan. John S. Battle, former Governor of Virginia is an avowed segregationist, presently involved in a court fight against attempted desegregation of a Virginia school.

The Northern members include J. Ernest Wilkins, a Chicagoan who was born in Mississippi. He is the sole Negro member of the commission. At present he is Assistant Secretary of Labor and will continue to hold that post. Dr. John A. Hannah, a former Assistant Secretary of Defense, has long been president of Michigan State College. Rev. T. M. Hesburgh, a Catholic priest, is president of Notre Dame University. Hesburgh is listed as politically unaffiliated; the other two Northerners are Republicans and the remaining three members Democrats.

An editorial in the Nov. 9 N. Y. Times happily notes: "The commission is distinctly 'moderationist' in tone; and

even its segregationist member, former Governor John S. Battle of Virginia, is no wild extremist. Neither is its one Negro member, Assistant Secretary of Labor J. Ernest Wilkins." In the dictionary of the Big Business press a pro-integration "extremist" is a person who presses for the actual enforcement of the Supreme Court decision wherever Jim Crow schools exist.

In appointing the commission Eisenhower engaged in a bit of political sharpshooting. He asked liberal Democrat Adlai Stevenson to serve on it. It is well known that wherever the question of Negro rights is brought up Stevenson begins to straddle, becomes somewhat cross-eyed from trying simultaneously to look South and North and at the same time locate the nearest exit, all the while delivering his polished prose like a man with a mouthful of mush.

Stevenson's unhappiness over being put on the spot by the administration's proffered appointment is brought out in a Nov. 8 N. Y. Post article: "A highly placed member of the White House staff approached Adlai E. Stevenson, to ask him if he would serve. Stevenson refused. Today Stevenson snapped a curt 'no comment' when a Post reporter reached him at his Libertyville, Ill., home to ask him about the White House offer. Asked why he had declined, Stevenson replied: 'I didn't say I had declined.'"

One thing, however, is clear — "forthright" Adlai Stevenson was offered the post and didn't take it.

## What Howard Fast Reveals

In this and the previous issue of the Militant we have published excerpts of Howard Fast's article, "The Writer and the Commissar."

We disagree fundamentally with Fast on basic political issues. These include questions such as "peaceful co-existence" where, in our view, Fast's position expresses the politics of Stalinism rather than of revolutionary socialism.

However, we believe the factual material in his article is valuable for those who are seeking Marxist answers to the problem of Stalinism. This material is especially valuable because Fast continues to write as a partisan of the Soviet Union and of socialism. In fact, he indicts the Soviet bureaucrats for their crimes against socialism.

Fast also presents a burning account of the betrayals of revolutionary workers in the American Communist Party. As he puts it, "I am writing about people whom I loved, as well as people whom I despised. I am writing about the bravest men and women I have ever known, as well as about petty bureaucrats, mental and physical cowards, and power-drugged paranooids."

For our part, the story revealed by Fast

only serves to deepen the close bond of solidarity that we have always felt with the workers in the Communist Party who have fought the witch hunt, suffered persecution for their views and aspired to a socialist future for mankind.

Fast tells of one such Communist, a Detroit auto worker, who had been "persecuted, harried, blacklisted from every factory in the area, because he was known as a left-winger." After the Khrushchev revelations, he said to Fast, "Howard, no matter where I went, no matter what they said to me, no matter how they cursed me out, they always knew I had no price tag on me. They hated me, but because I was part of dignity and honor, they respected me. Now I have no dignity and honor. Where do I go from here?"

For us, this underscores the significance of the present regroupment discussion among American radicals. A free and untrammelled discussion is the necessary means by which thousands of revolutionary workers will find the answer to the question so eloquently posed by the Detroit auto worker. Such a discussion will aid in uniting now-divided revolutionary-minded workers into a single party based on the liberating ideas of Leninism. By the same token, such a development will spell the end of Stalinism.

[We publish below, for the information of Militant readers, further excerpts from "The Writer and the Commissar" by Howard Fast, prominent novelist who resigned from the American Communist Party last winter. This article appears in the November issue of the new magazine, Prospect. Other excerpts were published in the Militant last week. — Ed.]

Within the [Communist] Party, and particularly the Daily Worker, the reports of the Twentieth Congress had come as an explosive force of mental liberation. Not because of their content (the "secret" speech was still secret) but because there appeared the first trace of iconoclasm in any party congress in our memory. It was little, but it was enough for us on the Worker to seize sledges and begin to break the hateful images with the zest of a drowning man gulping air.

Everyone on the staff joined in, to one extent or another. Myself, I struck out in every direction with a joy I had not known for years.

A whole group of us in the party had been secret believers in psychiatry, but had long been silenced by the terror of expulsion. Now I could defend Freud and the science of the mind.

I was able to lash out at the idiotic Soviet doctrine of "cosmopolitanism" as anti-Semitism; denounce capital punishment as barbarism; to charge that the Jewish people were prisoners within the Soviet Union.

I wrote about my love and

admiration for my own native land, the United States, and comrades of twenty and thirty years in the party came to me with tears in their eyes to thank me. Alan Max, Joseph Clark, Ben Levine, Bob Friedman, and others, reacted in a fashion similar to mine.

Throughout all this, because they had never coped with thought, ideas, change, or the excitement of shattering a worthless and senile idea, the national leaders of the party were silent.

We had the feeling that they had crawled into holes to hide from this tempest that was blowing through the intellectual corridors of the communist world.

We spoke of them with shame and looked upon them with con-

tempt and disgust; like the king in the Anderson fairy tale, they were so pathetically naked! But what a time it was for us! What freedom! What glory in the realization that all the years of waiting, mental hiding, intellectual servility, had not been in vain!

**FREE DISCUSSION OPENED**

We said to each other that we had known that the core of the party was good and healthy. We opened the pages of the Daily Worker to hundreds and hundreds of letters. We printed everything, the crackpots, the lunatics, the die-hards, the sober and thoughtful, the literate and illiterate, the wise and the foolish; and for the first time in our memory free, open discussion spread like fire through the party.

Everyone had something to say—except the national leadership. From their mental dugouts not a shot was fired. Finally, they spoke. Not ideas, not change, but a whining attempt to remove John Gates from the paper and expel him from the party. The staff laughed at them. "If Gates goes, we all go."

So the "leaders" retreated and joined the discussion, mouthing the same things they had mouthed for years in the same numb, senseless, tired language they had used for years.

But their main weapon, the source of all power, had for the moment been blunted—the power to expel from the Communist Party anyone who disagreed with them, who challenged their thinking or their actions.

And by so doing to expel such an "iconoclast" from the friendship of those he had spent his life with, from the society and respect of a whole era of men of good will; to turn an independent into a criminal mind; to do what in Russia was capped with torture and death; to do it short of physical destruction, but leave the human soul seared.

The foreign minister of a satellite country spoke of the Russian leaders' execution of his comrades: "We communists taught the world a lesson in how to die with dignity and courage, but when it came our turn to die at the hands of Stalinist murderers, we were denied even the small solace of dignity. They beat and tortured us until we lay at their feet and confessed to the unspeakable crimes they had invented and written down for us to sign."

From still another satellite land a diplomat said to me, fervently: "We will not become a second Hungary. We will live with our pain until in its own good time the Soviet Union will cast out this filth—and then we will cast out our own."

He was referring to the communist leadership, and he was himself a communist. That must be understood.

To speak of these things and condemn socialism is to be short of sight and shorter of understanding.

**CP BOSSES NOT SOCIALISM**

The lords of the Communist Party are not socialism; they are not Russia; they are not even their own party. They are a product of this party. It is a naïveté of the worst kind to believe that these men built socialism in the Soviet Union.

Whoever so believes should read Khrushchev's "secret" speech, then decide whether Stalin and the collection of hangers-on and murderers around him were builders of or monstrous enemies of socialism.

By testimony of Khrushchev himself, it was in spite of Stalin and his lickspittle crew that the Nazis were defeated, in spite of them that a new land rose out of the ashes.

It did not matter whether we were a communist paper or a vegetarian or the New York Times; alone, we fought for the finest tradition of our democracy, and we won. They had seized the offices, the assets, the morgue, the typewriters and blue pencils and all the rest, yet we proved that a fighting paper is in the hearts and hands of the people who make it, not in a suite of offices.

And all through that time, not one national leader of the party, except Gates, turned up to give us strength, leadership, or confidence. The rank-and-file came: devoted, hard-working, tired, they came with their dol-

lors and five-dollar-bills but the leaders remained away.

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**DAILY WORKER TAX CASE**

The final bankruptcy of what the Communist Party euphemistically called "leadership" came on the 28th of March, when the Internal Revenue Department committed the ultimate idiocy in a long series of senseless, repressive measures against the party.

Having contrived a ridiculous tax case against it, Federal agents moved into our offices, seized what they pompously called assets—a collection of dusty morgue files and ancient office furniture—and by attempting to close down a daily newspaper with peripheral devices, violated every law and tradition of a free Press in America.

To give a bitter taste to a stupid jest, they chose to do this at the very height of our revolt against the prison of thought we had inhabited for so long. . . .

All that day, and the following, we battled and won a fight to save the paper. We wrote it in other offices; the editors put it together literally on their feet and in motion; John Gates was tireless, defiant, fencing with the Federal men, snarling at them like an angry bulldog; and one brave Left-wing lawyer fought alongside us all that day and the next.

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## A Height of Mideast Conflict



A salvage crew raises the 5,000 ton Egyptian LST, Akka, loaded with cement that was sunk in the invasion of Egypt last year. The series of events that led up to the invasion began when the U.S. announced it would not keep its promises of assistance in the Aswan dam project. The U.S.-dominated World Bank has now had a second thought and a loan will be issued. (See editorial this page.)

## NY Youth Win Free Speech Fight in Court

NEW YORK, Nov. 12—Two members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Richard DeHaan and Daniel Freeman today won an important free-speech issue in Manhattan Magistrates' Court when Judge Harry Andrews dismissed charges against them of "distributing handbills" and "sitting." They were given summonses while distributing copies of the Young Socialist, a new national newspaper supported by the group, in front of Hunter College.

The New York Civil Liberties Union, ACLU affiliate, was active in their behalf as it has been in several similar cases recently. NYCLU attorney Mrs. Rhoda Karpatkin represented both defendants. The NYCLU was also instrumental in having the Police Department issue to all officers last week a directive that distribution of political literature is protected by the Constitution and local ordinance, and is not to be interfered with.

### ISSUE STATEMENT

DeHaan, 28, is vice-chairman, and Daniel Freeman, 23, is literature chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance. They issued the following statement after their trial:

"The only effective way to ensure free speech in New York is through constant resistance to all attempts by police and others to interfere with it.

"Despite constitutional guarantees and Supreme Court decisions, the police are able to harass minority political groups, as they did in our case, by making capricious charges which they are unable to sustain. Despite our final victory, the police succeeded not only in preventing our distribution of literature at Hunter College, but also in requiring our presence in court for a full half-day on three successive weeks. More such cases can only help convince the police that their attempts at limitation of constitutional rights are in vain.

"It is to the everlasting credit of the American Civil Liberties Union that it has taken the offensive in fighting these encroachments. In providing us with such able counsel it contributed in no small measure to the preservation of civil liberties in New York and in the nation."

## Economic Decline Brings White Collar Crackdown

By William Bundy

Life is going to be harder for people who work for wages or salaries during 1958. Bosses across the country are already taking advantage of the "slackening pace of

business" to put the screws on workers on the job as well as on those looking for work in an atmosphere of fear of unemployment.

In the largely unorganized white collar field, the effects on wages, job security, working conditions, and everyday human relations are being quickly felt. The new atmosphere in many of the nation's offices was cheerfully described in the Nov. 8 Wall Street Journal. "For the first time in several years," said the Journal, "most companies are getting plenty of applicants to fill openings for stenographers, sales clerks, typists and similar jobs."

In some cases, the swelling supply of office help has triggered the trimming of starting salaries. . . . Personnel officers are enjoying the turnabout; some hope to replace marginal workers . . . and a few bosses suggest that the general uneasiness about the nation's economy is having a sobering and beneficial effect on the attitudes of many workers toward their jobs."

### SALARIES GO DOWN

The roundup report by the Journal attributes the situation to an increase in the labor force plus an increase in the unemployment rate.

A San Francisco shipping concern reported that in the last three months it has changed its starting salary bracket to \$275 \$300 a month from about \$325 a month.

Speaking of applicants for white collar jobs, the manager of a Los Angeles employment agency said, "their whims are not going to be indulged any longer."

The Journal report continues: "A San Francisco department store sales girl explains that with jobs hard to get she is watching her P's and Q's. 'I had the flu last week but only stayed home two days because just two weeks ago another girl in this department was fired for taking her time getting to work in the morning.'"

A life insurance personnel director told the Journal "we're cracking down a little ourselves, watching attendance more closely

### BOSSES WANT IT STILL WORSE

Some bosses, says the Journal, are hoping the situation will get worse so that they can "replace workers with marginal skills or uncooperative attitudes. An official of a Midwest trucking company confides that if he can hire better people he'll bid goodbye to six he's 'just tolerating.'"

"Marginal" workers, of course, often include older persons and members of racial or religious minorities as well as the unskilled.

The power of that petty tyrant, the personnel man, has been increasing. "No longer will we let it slide when an applicant's reference is a relative," says the hiring officer of a Midwestern metal fabricator.

The new atmosphere is just beginning to be felt. Employers complain that certain office skills are still scarce and that unemployment is not high enough in certain areas, such as New York City.

"It'll take companies a long time to get where they want to be in their hiring," the Journal reports a Cleveland banker as saying, "where they won't have to compromise their standards to keep jobs filled."

## Smith Act Cases Dropped in Boston

OCT. 9 — A fresh victory for civil liberties was won yesterday with the dismissal of Smith Act indictments against five Massachusetts defendants. Dismissal came after government prosecutors told the court they lacked the evidence to obtain convictions.

The decision was hailed by the five as a major gain for Constitutional rights. Daniel Schirmer called it "a very good thing for American democracy." Mrs. Anne B. Timponson said, "The Bill of Rights has been vindicated."

Michael Russo saw it as "a very significant victory for all the American people," while Otis Archer Hood said it is a sign that the U.S. "is turning away from McCarthyism." Sidney S. Lipshires declared he now "hopes to see the release of such political prisoners as Gus Hall and Gil Green in the U.S.A., Milovan Djilas in Yugoslavia, Wolfgang Harich in East Germany and Imre Nagy in Hungary."

lar—and five-dollar—bills but the leaders remained away.

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The foreign minister of a satellite country spoke of the Russian leaders' execution of his comrades:

"We communists taught the world a lesson in how to die with dignity and courage, but when it came our turn to die at the hands of Stalinist murderers, we were denied even the small solace of dignity. They beat and tortured us until we lay at their feet and confessed to the unspeakable crimes they had invented and written down for us to sign."

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By testimony of Khrushchev himself, it was in spite of Stalin and his lickspittle crew that the Nazis were defeated, in spite of them that a new land rose out of the ashes.

## Calendar Of Events

New York Youth

Fri., Nov. 22, 8 P. M. — A review of John Strachey's "Contemporary Capitalism" by Shane Mage, Alternate National Committee member, American Forum for Socialist Education. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contribution 50c. Auspices: Young Socialist Forum.

Chicago

Sat., Nov. 23. Thanksgiving Banquet and Dance. Turkey Dinner with all the trimmings. Refreshment Hour, 5:00 P. M. Dinner, 6:30 P. M. Donation \$1.50, includes dinner. Auspices: Militant Readers Club. 777 W. Adams St.

New York

Sunday, Nov. 24, 8 P. M. — Lynn Marcus will speak on "Automation: Its Political Implications." 116 University Place. Contribution 50c.

San Francisco

Sat., Nov. 23, 8 P. M. — Labor Forum presents Murry Weiss, Associate Editor of the Militant, on "Future of American Socialism." 1145 Polk St.

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[The following is the text of a brief speech given by Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York mayor in the recent elections, on the "Sunday Schedule" program over WNBC-TV, Nov. 3. She spoke under the "Why I Love America" portion of the program. — Ed.]

America is a nation in which the majority of the people have a deep devotion to the ideals of truth, justice and freedom. The overwhelming majority of the people of this country want to live at peace with one another and with the peoples of the rest of the world.

Unfortunately, there are two Americas. There is also the America of the fabulously wealthy financiers and industrialists. They are only a microscopic fraction of the population, but they control the great bulk of the wealth of America and they are the dominant power in all phases of government.

Last week, Fortune magazine reported that 76 Americans possess fortunes that total almost ten billion dollars. This incredible portion of American wealth was piled up at the direct expense of the millions who labor in the oil fields, the factories, the mills.

These 76 men symbolize the ruling capitalist class of America that has made our country feared and hated throughout the world. To protect their far-flung empire of oil and dollars, Truman put us in the Korean war and John Foster Dulles marches the American people from one brink of war to another.

In the interests of these monopolists, American guns and dollars are used to keep the fascist dictator Franco in power in Spain — to restore Nazi bankers and

generals to power in Germany, to prop up dying British and French imperialism.

Here at home, the political spokesmen for these plutocrats permit ugly racism to flourish and permit millions of Americans to work long, hard hours just to keep one step ahead of the landlord, butcher and installment collector.

But I consider the America I spoke of first as the real America, the America I love. It is the America of the working people — the industrial workers, the farmers, the professional workers — all those whose brain and brawn took the bountiful resources of our land and built the greatest productive machine the world has yet known.

It is to this America that we of the Socialist Workers Party address ourselves. We say to the working people: You have the power to make our nation into the golden land that we all aspire to — a socialist America of security and abundance for all. An America where everyone will have the opportunity to engage in fruitful, productive labor under conditions befitting the dignity of man. An America where racial and religious bigotry will be unknown. An America that will reestablish itself in the eyes of the world as a leader in the march toward universal freedom and brotherhood.

Our aspirations can and will come true. All that is necessary is that the American working people end the political power of the plutocrats and establish their own government.

When that is done, we will be on the road to a socialist America where a rational and truly democratic economy of production for use will realize the great potential of our country.

## TV, Press Cover Weiss Visit in Minn.

By Winifred Nelson

Minneapolis, Nov. 10 — Speaking at a Socialist Workers Party celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution held here last night, Murray Weiss, associate editor of the Militant, declared that the launching of Sputnik I and II demonstrated that mankind will "banish poverty, war, disease and tyranny from the face of the earth." He spoke here as part of a national tour on the topic of "The Future of American Socialism."

"If the human race can create new moons and open the path to the stars," said Weiss, "who can say that it is incapable of regulating its own affairs and organizing a new social structure?"

### LIVELY QUESTION PERIOD

The meeting was attended by many students and persons from other left-wing tendencies who contributed to a lively question and discussion period on the important issues of the day—Sputnik, China, Hungary, the conflicting social systems of the Soviet Union and the U. S. A., and socialist regroupment.

Remaining for a social hour after the speech, the audience showed a real interest in continuing the evening's discussion, and purchased literature and subs to the Militant.

News media in the Twin Cities carried accounts of Murray Weiss' talk both before and after the meeting. On Friday, WCCO-TV's most popular newscaster, Cedric Adams, gave a spot on his 6:00 P.M. news program to an interview with the SWP spokesman on Eisenhower's speech of the night before. Comrade Weiss declared that Eisenhower had nothing to offer the American people but a war program.

On Thursday, the anniversary



MURRAY WEISS, currently on national tour, hailed Sputnik I and II at a Twin Cities celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Said Weiss, if the human race "can open a path to the stars, who can say that it is incapable of . . . organizing a new social structure."

of the Russian Revolution, newspaper headlines read, "Trotskyists to Mark Red Revolt," and quoted Weiss' statement:

"We socialists of America see a profound connection between recent scientific achievements in the Soviet Union and the growing movement of the workers, intellectuals and students in the Soviet orbit to overthrow bureaucratic dictatorship and establish socialist democracy. The Russian Revolution laid the basis for a socialist economic system which has demonstrated a tremendous capacity to stimulate scientific and technical progress. . . . The American people have nothing to fear from Soviet science and the Soviet working class."

Following the talk, the Sunday papers in both Minneapolis and St. Paul covered the meeting, carrying these headlines: "Socialist Sees End to Poverty" and "Trotskyite Says Man Can Banish Poverty and War."

## National Guardian's Post Election View

(The following is the complete text of a "Report to Readers" entitled "The Glass Jaw" in the Nov. 11 National Guardian. We printed a small excerpt last week. — Ed.)

More in sorrow than in anger, we offer for your post-election reading a letter from Sarah Lovell of Detroit, whose independent candidacy for Mayor we endorsed, among the few other independent candidacies we could learn about in our Oct. 28 issue. She writes:

"Unfortunately, my name was not on the Nov. 5 ballot, and there was no way of registering a progressive vote in the mayoral election here. Under the non-partisan system in effect in Detroit elections, a primary is held in September, eliminating all but the top two candidates for a November run-off. This insured the election of the conservative Republican candidate, Louis C. Miriani (supported by GM-Ford-Chrysler-Reuther-Hoffa), opposed in the run-off by a conservative Democrat whom even the labor leaders rejected."

There is a lesson to be learned from this, Miss Lovell says: "I spent the first half of this year campaigning in the unions for labor to run its own slate in this election. But the Reuther-Hoffa policy prevailed, and the labor movement tagged along behind capitalist politicians."

"At the suggestion of the Socialist Workers Party, I then appealed several times to all the radical groups in this city to run candidates of their own for mayor or city council; and to form a left-wing or socialist electoral bloc of candidates to offer as an alternative to the capitalist politicians."

"The ballot requirements in city elections here are quite easy to meet; every one of the radical groups could have put at least one candidate on the ballot. I even offered to withdraw from the mayoralty race and run for the city council if a conference of these groups would prefer some other choice for the top office."

"But neither the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the American Socialist group nor any of the other organizations responded to our appeal. Not one of them ran any candidate for any office."

"I am firmly convinced (and the primary statistics support this view) that a united campaign by the left-wing could have placed an anti-capitalist candidate on the ballot to op-

pose Miriani in the run-off, thereby greatly enhancing the socialist education of Detroit's voters."

"This wonderful opportunity was muffed—thanks to a mixture of opportunism, timidity, apathy and (if they will permit me the expression) narrow sectarianism by most of Detroit's radical groups."

"I hope that your firm re-statement of the need for independent political action will help radicals and socialists to avoid such mistakes in the future, here and elsewhere."

In New York the Communist Party, in a 3-column last-minute editorial in the Nov. 3 Worker, signed by two of its state leaders, Benjamin J. Davis and George Blake Charney, attacked the mayoralty campaign of the Socialist Workers Party as "disorienting and dangerous" and said that a vote for the SWP candidates "does not advance the cause of socialism." The editors of the GUARDIAN are chided for urging such a vote as a socialist alternative.

Rather, the CP recommended as "sound . . . the position of many that a large vote for the Liberal Party [Mayor Wagner, the Democrat, was its candidate] will exert independent pressure on the incoming administration." The editorial then wound up with a plea for post-election unity.

We marvel, as at a fancy boxer protecting a glass jaw, at the facile logic which can anatomize a socialist campaign as not advancing the cause of socialism; and in the same combination can approve (pardon: approve the approval of) a tailist campaign which hates socialism like the devil hates holy water.

We look forward with interest to the extent and solidarity of the post-election unity which will have been thus forged.

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# THE MILITANT

## White Citizens Council Slate Defeated in Little Rock Vote

By Henry Gitano

The voting power of a Southern Negro community was demonstrated in Little Rock's election where six of the seven positions in the city's new Board of Directors were won by the Good Government Committee. The Capital City White Citizens Council which bitterly opposed the moderates placed only one man. The vote was very close and it was the Negro people voting as a bloc that determined the outcome of the election.

The WCC felt pained since the League of Central High Mothers which claimed "thousands" of members, was forced to file a sworn membership list, which turned out to be 163; the WCC then made the city election a test of support for Faubus. The Good Government Committee was accused by the WCC of favoring integration in schools, in swimming pools and in public parks. Richard C. Butler, speaking on TV in behalf of the spineless GGC declared that it had been "unjustly accused" of being pro-integration. Without looking upon them as friends in any way, the Negro community voted for the GGC candidates as a lesser evil, and demonstrated that their united vote is a force to be reckoned with.

### STUDENTS EXPLAIN

Meanwhile, the nine Negro students at Little Rock Central High School are explaining to white children the justice of their equal-rights demand, as evidenced by an Oct. 16 NBC broadcast of a panel discussion. The cast consisted of seven students from the school—namely, three Negro students (Minnie Jean Brown, Ernest Green and Melba Pattillo) and four white students (Sammy Dean Parker, Kay Bacon, and Robin Woods). Mrs. Ricketts, a correspondent for Norwegian papers, brought them together. Here are excerpts from the broadcast.

Mrs. Ricketts: . . . What have you against Negroes in your school, Kay?

Kay: I think that they've got schools to go to of their own. That's what most of us have against them.

Ernest: . . . Why should my friends get out there and die for a cause called "democracy" when I can't exercise my rights—tell me that.

Robin: . . . And when Elizabeth had to walk down in front of the school I was there and I saw that. And may I say, I was very ashamed—I felt like crying—because she was so brave.

## What Election Returns Showed

(Continued from page 1)

tory — 919,902 — and a total of 1,504,342. Wagner's victory was expected. Democratic pre-election boasting was for 60% of the vote, actually they polled over 70%.

The New York and New Jersey votes indicate, the beginning of a leftward shift of the workers. While this shift is aided by the improved climate resulting from the lessening of the witch hunt and also reflects accumulated disappointments with the Eisenhower administration, it is principally caused by the chill winds beginning to blow over the economy and the consequent feeling of insecurity.

Confined in the prison of the two-party system by the labor bureaucracy the workers' first move is to unify themselves politically and vote in the only way that seems, at present, practical to them — that is for the Democrats, particularly for liberal and supposedly pro-labor Democrats.

Election of the Democratic-labor coalition's candidates under worsening economic conditions can only put them on the spot as far as the workers' increased demands for remedial action are concerned. The disillusioning experience of the workers with Democratic politicians whom they have themselves put in office will but further expose the liberal and pro-labor veneer over the hard capitalist core of these politicians. It was precisely a first dose of this disillusion with the Truman administration that contributed greatly to the Eisenhower sweep in 1952. But in the period that lies ahead the workers will neither fall into political apathy nor vote in considerable numbers for the Republican "alternative."

On the contrary, they will be impelled, along with the Negro people and small farmers, to break out of the capitalist two-party system, by building a new party — a labor party.

when she did that. And we just weren't behaving ourselves — just jeering her. I think if we had had any sort of decency, we wouldn't have acted that way . . . How would you like to have . . . walk down the street with everybody yelling behind you like they yelled behind Elizabeth? . . .

Minnie Jean: Hold your hand up. I'm brown, you are white. What's the difference? We are all of the same thoughts . . . Kay, Joe and Robin—do you know anything about me, or is it just that your mother has told you about Negroes? . . .

Ernest: Well, getting back to this intermarriage and all that. . . I'm going there for an education. Really if I'm going there to socialize, I don't need to be going to school. I can stand out on the corner and socialize. . . .

Kay: [Sammy and I] We both

came down here today with our mind set on it [that] we weren't going to change our mind that we were fully against integration. But I know now that we're going to change our mind.

Mrs. Ricketts: What do your parents say to that?

Kay: I think I'm going to have a long talk with my parents.

Kay and Sammy will have plenty to tell. For instance, they could cite the courage and determination of Melba Pattillo who was pushed so hard she almost fell on her face on the one day the federalized Arkansas Guardsmen replaced the paratroopers at the school.

Melba is certain of one thing: "The only way they'll get me out of Centra now, is to take me out—first, And I intend to keep on standing on my feet."



THELMA MOTHERSHED, one of the heroic Negro youths who walked through racist mobs for the right to an equal education, with her mother, Mrs. A. L. MOTHERSHED, looks over a picture of Eisenhower shaking hand with Gov. Faubus.

## American Forum Issues Discussion Pamphlet

The American Forum — For Socialist Education has released its first public discussion pamphlet. The pamphlet's title piece, "Questions for the Left" by Sidney Lens, Chicago trade unionist, is followed by brief commentary articles by six additional members of the Forum's National Committee.

In his introduction to the pamphlet, American Forum chairman A. J. Muste says, "The [Lens] paper . . . illuminates the fact of complete agreement among Forum National Committee members 'that all important problems should be raised and frankly and sharply discussed, no matter how controversial.'"

Lens poses and elaborates some of his own thinking on seven questions. These are: "What is socialism? What is the actual character of the state? How do we achieve true internationalism? Can capitalism be reformed? What role does love or humanitarianism play in a leftist philosophy? How can the social revolution proceed along democratic lines? How is social change to be brought about in the United States of America?"

In his comment John Dickinson takes issue with Lens' criticism of Marx as well as with his method of posing questions instead of stating opinions as clearly as possible.

Tim Wolfarth, managing editor of the Young Socialist, emphasizes "reaching agreement on those questions which require action," and he elaborates a number of questions on which united action is possible.

Stephen Gratton defends and urges study of the "primary theories of Marx."

Farrell Dobbs of the Socialist Workers Party offers a series of specific programmatic statements as propositions for discussion. They are advanced, he says, "in a sincere effort to promote discussion of a very real problem, the shaping of a revolutionary-socialist program for the coming period when the American working class again swings into action and turns toward socialist leadership."

Conrad Lynn, prominent civil

Copies of "Questions for the Left" may be obtained at 25c per copy from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. or in bundles of 25 or more at 20c per copy from the American Forum, Room 221, 1133 Broadway, New York, 10, N. Y.

A conference on "America's Future in the Age of Automation and Atomic Energy" will be held by the American Forum, Sat., Dec. 7, at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57 Street in New York City, starting at 10:30 A.M. Panel discussions will be held on labor, culture, youth, "Socialism and Democracy," and political action.

### New York Bazaar

The New York School of Social Science announces that its Annual Christmas Bazaar will be held Saturday, December 14, at 116 University Place.

All our friends are urged to contribute their white elephants such as precious stones, jewelry, electric appliances, and tables, last year's fur coat (mink, chinchilla, beaver or rabbit will be accepted), books, records, objects of art. Solicit those trades people you regularly do business with for a contribution of food, clothing, wine, candy, furniture, etc. If you can't bring in the merchandise, call AL 5-7852 and arrange for a pickup.

## How Anastasia Managed for So Long To Survive

By S. W. Argus

Albert Anastasia, the Lord High Executioner of the infamous national crime syndicate, Murder, Inc., is dead, murdered last month in a New York midtown hotel barber-shop by the gunfire of two hired hoods. It is to be noted that it was not the forces of law and order who moved him from the scene. Indeed New York's former Mayor O'Dwyer, a Tammany Hall stalwart, was generally regarded as instrumental in keeping Anastasia free until the hoodlums' gunfire cut short the long rule of the man who was known as the "czar" of the New York waterfront.

"Organized crime could not last 43 hours if every official charged with law enforcement—municipal, state or national—were incorruptible. . . . The gang lords have ingeniously crept into official circles in many ways and into the highest places. Sometimes they have done it with votes; sometimes by help of one sort or another in a political campaign; sometimes merely by 'contacts' or connections they have established."

This sober, unchallenged observation comes from Burton Turkus, prominent in the last decade as a prosecutor of the Murder, Inc. syndicate. Abe Reles, Murder Inc. gun-for-hire, under investigation confirmed this: "And we get connections where they count."

### POCKETBOOK DECIDES

When Mayor O'Dwyer, on leave from his refuge in Mexico, testified before the Kefauver Committee in 1951, he went a long way toward clarifying the magnetic attraction which gangsters and big-time gamblers have for capitalist politicians. He said, "It doesn't matter whether it's a banker, a business man or gangster; his pocketbook is always attractive."

When asked last month for a statement on Anastasia's saying, O'Dwyer muttered "No comment." In 1945 though, long after O'Dwyer had permitted Anastasia to go scot free (though he had reportedly been responsible for over 60 murders) the mayor facing grand jury investigation of his conduct of the Murder, Inc. investigation, stated: "No mob murder in Brooklyn was committed without Anastasia's permission and approval."

Anastasia—until his sudden demise—had been getting away with murder for over 20 years. It has been conceded that he was one of the top dogs on the waterfront, on the docks and in the several ILA locals for nearly two decades. Assistant Attorney-General Stammer of New Jersey said in 1951 that "Anastasia might be, in addition, the labor 'enforcer' in general strike-breaking in New Jersey."

The assassination of Pete Panto and the failure of authorities to prosecute Anastasia in this connection is an example of how gangsters and cap-

italist politicians connive against honest and militant unionists. In hot midsummer, 1939, Pete Panto was conducting a determined war against domination of the waterfront. Pursuing a policy of organizing the rank-and-file dockers, Panto saw his efforts bearing fruit in the face of widespread intimidation and red-baiting. The struggle against the Anastasia mob and its henchmen in the ILA locals reached its culmination in a rank-and-file meeting of Local 929 called by Panto on the night of July 8. Over 1200 dock workers rallied to the banner of rank-and-file revolt and resoundingly approved the Panto program to restore union democracy to the racket-ridden ILA. Anastasia's empire was menaced. Panto disappeared less than a week later.

Abe Reles, informer on Brooklyn Murder, Inc. spilled the beans in the course of preliminary talks, while he was negotiating a deal with O'Dwyer. "Mendy strangled him [Panto] as a favor for Albert [Anastasia]," Mendy told Reles: "I had to do it for Albert, because Albert has been good to me." "Pittsburgh Phil," another well-known hoodlum, confided to Reles: "Albert mentions to me a couple of days ago that something will have to be done about a guy named Panto. This guy is making trouble in the dock union. I see Albert yesterday, and I ask him what's new on it. He says, 'It's all finished, and everything's all right.'"

The same year as the Panto murder, Anastasia's Brooklyn

boys handled the cold-blooded assassination of Morris Diamond, Teamster Local 138 Business agent who went to the DA's office to register his complaint about the labor racketeers.

### O'DWYER HIT

Five years later, while O'Dwyer was campaigning for mayor a grand jury censured him in the following terms: "The undisputed proof is that DA William O'Dwyer and his assistant Edward Heffernan were in possession of competent legal evidence that Anastasia was guilty of first degree murder and other crimes. This proof was admittedly sufficient to warrant Anastasia's indictment and conviction. . . . We find that the 'perfect murder case' was almost completed to the Kings County grand jury in 1940, by assistant D. A. Heffernan, who then suspended and abandoned the case. He [Heffernan] stated that this case was dropped on instructions from his superiors."

O'Dwyer's election in 1945 marked Tammany Hall's comeback in New York City. It was achieved with the support of the American Labor Party, then dominated jointly by Hillman's machine in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and by the Stalinists. In pursuit of their class-collaborationist policy, both ACW and CP leaders dummed up on O'Dwyer's record in the Panto case, although the Daily Worker had fully exposed it in 1941.

## Incite Wisconsin Employers To Resist Strikers More

By William Krainik

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 29 — The problem of provoking and breaking strikes broke out in a public session of the Wisconsin Chamber of Commerce at its annual meeting here.

The general manager of the Wisconsin Motor Carriers association, John Varda, complained from the floor that in a past teamsters strike his group did not get the solid backing of big business.

"We're selfish as hell" replied Robert C. Bassett, industrial relations expert of the Schlitz Brewing Company. "There isn't a man in this room who hasn't faced this problem — whether to fight and risk going broke or knuckle under. But, has anybody in America ever figured a strike as an investment in future labor peace?"

Robert T. Borth, employee relations representative of the General Electric Company stated, "Every time the businessman of America gets into trouble he buys his way out of it. And there are some who have tried to buy their way out and now can't get out. Sometimes you have to take a strike."

The panel session at which the outburst against those who tended to be "soft" toward labor took place was devoted to the

value of the Senate rackets committee investigations.

The general counsel of the national chamber, William B. Barton in his report before this panel stated, that it would be better for them if the battle around James R. Hoffa of the Teamsters Union would be dragged out. He pointed out that "Public opinion may cool and that would be unfortunate."

He made clear the anti-labor stand of the Chamber of Commerce and the real purpose of the Senate committee by pointing out that in his view, "The real problem is the concentration of power in the hands of a few union leaders."

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